

## **Gender, Armed Conflict and Peacemaking Graduate Consortium in Women Studies**

**Carol Cohn, Gordana Rabrenovic and Lisa Rivera**

Peacekeeping operations involving both military and civilian personnel have been deployed in a number of countries such as Bosnia, Kosovo East Timor and now Afghanistan. These interventions have come about following intense levels of violence, breakdown in law and order, systems of governance and social systems as well as violations of human rights. This course is designed to review the phenomena of conflict, forced migration and militarization from a gender perspective to highlight the policy and operational implications that arise from this analysis.

The gendered nature of conflict and intervention will be explored from a multi-disciplinary framework involving anthropology, sociology, politics, philosophy and the arts. Presenters will utilize literature, poetry, film, witness testimonies from the field, ethnographic narratives and other resources to explore the complex ways in which women and men experience, manage and respond to violence and situations of protracted crises.

### **Objectives:**

1. To promote an understanding of the gendered nature of conflict and displacement.
2. To explore the relationships between conflict, militarization, gender and emerging nationalistic identities.
3. To analyze the policies and practices of international peacekeeping and aid agencies.
4. To promote a sensitization of the ethical, moral and personal issues involved in doing research and working in the context of violence and war.

### **Course Readings:**

Cynthia Cockburn. *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*. Zed Books. London. 1998.

Cynthia Enloe. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. University of California Press. 2000.

Laura Sjoberg. *Gender, Justice and the Wars in Iraq*, Lexington Books. 2006.

Various articles accessible via web-site.

### **Course Assignments:**

1. Each week a team of 2 or more students from different disciplines will make a presentation on the readings to the class. This will include (a) a 1-2 page written summary of key issues in both hard and soft copy to be placed on the web site or circulated via email, (b) a 20 minute presentation framing the readings, and (c) additional

questions to help guide the class discussion. Questions and the draft summary are due via email to Carol, Gordana and Lisa 24 hours before class. (30% of grade)

2. An 8 to 10 page paper based on class readings will be due in week 8. (20% of grade)

Option 1: Focus on an issue of armed conflict raised within two or more course readings and consider the ways that gender alters or transforms our understanding of this issue. Is the understanding of this aspect of armed conflict inadequate in the absence of a gender analysis? What do you fail to see without a gender analysis? Analyze the ways that gender illuminates both the problem and (possible) approaches or solutions to the problem. These questions are not meant to limit your paper but to give a sense of issues that you may wish to think about.

Option 2: Reflect on the idea of militarism in your own academic discipline or graduate program emphasis. For example, what assumptions does your discipline make about militarism? How are the readings and discussions in the class moving you from your discipline to multiple ways of seeing militarism? Explain some of the different ways of seeing militarism. Has your understanding of militarism changed over time? These questions are not meant to limit your paper but to give a sense of issues that you may wish to think about.

3. A 15 to 20 page research paper on a topic of the student's choice that engages with the issues of " militarism " and "peacemaking". Lisa, Gordana and Carol will give comments on a draft paper if it is handed in before week 9. (50 % of grade)

### **Suggested Weekly Outline**

Jan 31	Week One:	Introduction
Feb 7	Week Two:	Gendered Nature of Conflict and Social Change
Feb 14	Week Three:	Emerging Trends in the Feminist Analysis of Violence and War
Feb 21	Week Four:	Women and Men as Combatants
Feb 28	Week Five:	Gender and Militarization
Mar 7	Week Six:	The Functionality of Sexual Violence and Rape in War
Mar 14	Week Seven:	Managing Crisis, Community View
Mar 21	Week Eight	Peacekeepers as Violators

Mar 28		MIT Spring Break
Apr 4	Week Nine:	Engendering Policies and Institutions: Opportunities, Issues, and Constraints
Apr 11	Week Ten:	Lecture at Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights
Apr 18	Week Eleven:	Gender and Humanitarian Intervention
Apr 25	Week Twelve:	Post-Conflict Recovery
May 2	Week Thirteen:	Student Presentations
May 9	Week Fourteen	Student Presentations

### **Required Readings:**

*Week 1 January 31*

#### **Introduction:**

*Week 2 February 7*

#### **Gendered Nature of Conflict and Social Change:**

Laura Sjoberg. *Gender, Justice and the Wars in Iraq*. Chapters 1-2

J. Ann Tickner: "Gendered Dimensions of War, Peace, and Security" in *Gendering World Politics*. Columbia University Press, 2001, pages: 36-64

Cynthia Cockburn: "The Continuum of Violence. A Gender Perspective on War and Peace," in *Sites of Violence*, (eds.) Jennifer Hyndman and Wenona Giles, University of California Press: Berkeley (2004), pp. 24-44.

Carol Cohn and Sara Ruddick: "A feminist Ethical perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction"

*Week 3 February 14*

#### **Emerging Trends in the Feminist Analysis of War:**

Lentin, R. (1997) "(En)gendering Genocide" In: *Gender and Catastrophe*, Zed Press, pages 2-17.

Laura Sjoberg. *Gender, Justice and the Wars in Iraq*. Chapters 3-4

Dyan Mazurana. "Gender and the Causes and Consequences of Armed Conflict," in

Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping, (eds.) Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart, Rowman & Littlefield: Oxford & Boulder (2004).

Judy El-Bushra, “Transforming Conflict: Some Thoughts on a Gendered Understanding of Conflict Processes,” in States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance, (eds.) Susie Jacobs, Ruth Jacobson, and Jennifer Marchbank, Zed Press: London (2000), pp. 66-86.

Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman, “New Directions for Feminist Research and Thought” in Sites of Violence (eds.) Jennifer Hyndman and Wenona Giles, University of California Press, Berkeley (2004) pp. 301-309.

Carol Cohn: “Feminist Peacemaking” *The Women’s Review of Books*, vol. XXI, no.5 (February 2004), p.8-9

*Week 4 February 21*

**Women and Men as Combatants:**

**Chris Coulter**

Joshua S. Goldstein. “A Puzzle: the Cross-Cultural Consistency of Gender Roles in War” in *War and Gender*, Cambridge University Press. 2001, pages: 1-58

Karen Kampwirth: “New Roles for Sandino’s Daughters” in *Women & Guerrilla Movements*, The Pennsylvania State University Press 2002, pages: 21-44

Dyan Mazurana: *Women in Armed Opposition Groups in Africa and the Promotion of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights*, Geneva Call, 2005.

Dyan Mazurana and Khristopher Carlson, *From Combat to Community: Women and Girls of Sierra Leone*,

<http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/SierraLeoneFullCaseStudy.pdf>

*Week 5 February 28*

**Gender and Militarization:**

Cynthia Enloe. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives*. Chapters 1-3

P.W. Singer. “Children at War,” in *Children at War*, California University Press 2006, pages: 3-36

Karen Kampwirth: “Rethinking Women and Guerrilla Movements: Back to Cuba” in *Women & Guerrilla Movements*, The Pennsylvania State University Press 2002, pages: 117-136

Carol Cohn: "Wars, Wimps, and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War," in *Gendering War Talk*, eds., Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott, Princeton University Press, 1993.

*Women, Peace and Security*. Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325 (2000). United Nations 2002. Introduction and Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Girls. Pp. 1-32

*Week 6 March 7*

**The Functionality of Violence and Rape in War:**

Cynthia Enloe. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Chapters: 4-7

Moore, H. (1994) "The Problem of Explaining Violence in Social Sciences" In: Harvey, P. and Gon P.(Ed.) (1994) *Sex and Violence. Issues in Representation and Experience*, Routledge, pages 138-155.

Niarchos, C.N. (1995) "Women, War, and Rape: Challenges Facing the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia" *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol.17:649-690.

Meredith Turshen. "The Political Economy of Rape: An Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women during Armed Conflict in Africa" in *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?* Edited by Caroline O.N. Moser and Fiona C. Clark, Zed Books, 2001 pages 30-51

Binaifer Nowrojee. "Your Justice is Too Slow": Will the ICTR Fail Rwanda's Rape Victims? Working Paper No. 105 Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights

*Week 7 March 14*

**Managing Crisis, A Community View:**

Cynthia Cockburn (1998) *The Space Between Us, Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*. Zed Books London.

*Week 8 March 21*

**Peacekeepers as Violators:**

Paul Higate and Marsha Henry: "Engendering (In)security in Peace Support Operations," *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 481-498 (2004)

*Sarah Martin: Must Boys Be Boys? Ending Sexual Exploitation & Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions. Refugees International, 2005*

Sandra Whitworth: *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis*. Lynne Rienner, 2004, chs xx.

Week 9 April 4

**Engendering Policies and Institutions: Opportunities, Issues and Constraints:**

“Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Support Operations: Moving beyond Rhetoric to Practice,” International Alert, July 2002, <http://www.reliefweb.int/training/ti1121.html>

Colleen Keaney-Mischel. *The Role of Gender Advisers in Implementing United Nations Gender Mainstreaming Policy in Peacekeeping Operation*. Chapter from the dissertation

Cynthia Cockburn and Meliha Hubic: “Gender and the Peacekeeping military; a view from Bosnian Women’s Organizations” in Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov, editors. *Postwar Moment: Militarities, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*. Lawrence & Wishart, London 2002, pages 103-121

Carol Cohn: “Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation?” in *Analysing and Transforming Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*, Editors: Shirin M. Rai and Georgina Waylen. Cambridge University Press, forthcoming

Carol Cohn, Nadine Puechguirbal, Nathalie Gahunga, Angela Raven-Roberts: *Working in the Field: Practitioners Discuss UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security*. Boston Consortium on Gender Security and Human Rights Meeting Report, [www.genderandsecurity.org](http://www.genderandsecurity.org)

Week 10 April 11

**Lecture at Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights**

Week 11 April 18

**Gender and Humanitarian Intervention:**

Lesley Abdela: “Kosovo: Missed Opportunities, Lessons for the Future” in *Development, Women and War: Feminist Perspectives*, Oxfam: Oxford (2004) pp. 87-98.

Mark Duffield: “The New Humanitarianism,” *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*, Zed Books: London (2001).

Jennifer Hyndman: “Refugee Camps as Conflict Zones: The Politics of Gender” in *Sites of Violence*, (eds.) Jennifer Hyndman and Wenona Giles, University of California Press: Berkeley (2004) pp. 193-212.

Madeleine Rees: “International Intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Cost of Ignoring Gender,” in *The Postwar Moment*, (eds.) Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov, Zed Books: London (2002) pp. 51-67.

Suzanne Williams, “Mission Impossible: Gender, Conflict and Oxfam GB,” in

*Development, Women and War: Feminist Perspectives*, Oxfam: Oxford (2004) pp. 315-334.

Women, Peace and Security. Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325 (2000). United Nations 2002. Chapter 6: Humanitarian Operations pp. 93-109

*Week 12* April 25

### **Post-Conflict Recovery:**

Sørensen, B. (1998) *Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources*, Occasional Paper No.3, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies.

Natasa Mrvic-Petrovic and Ivana Stevanovic. "Life in refuge-changes in socioeconomic and familial status" in *Women, Violence and War*, edited by Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic, Central European University Press 2001: 151-169

Maracia E. Greenberg and Elaine Zuckerman. "The Gender Dimensions of Post-Conflict Reconstruction." Research Paper No. 2006/62 UNU-Wider 2006

Sheila Meintjes, Anu Pillay and Meredith Turshen "There is no Aftermath for Women" in *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*, edited by Sheila Meintjes, Meredith Turshen and Anu Pillay, Zed Books 2002: pages 3-19

Sondra Hale. "Liberated, but not Free: Women in Post-War Eritrea" Sheila Meintjes, Anu Pillay and Meredith Turshen "There is no Aftermath for Women" in *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*, edited by Sheila Meintjes, Meredith Turshen and Anu Pillay, Zed Books 2002: pages 122-141

### **Recommended Readings:**

El Bushra, J. and Mukarubuga, C. (1995) "Women, War and Transition". *Gender and Development* Vol. 3(3):16-22.

Roche, C. (1992) "Operationality in Turbulence: The Need for Change". *Development in States of War*, London Acord, pages 15-25.

Tickner, A. 1999. "Why Women Can't Run the World: International Politics According to Francis Fukuyama." *International Studies Review* 1(3):3-11

Cynthia Cockburn. "The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence." In *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, edited by Caroline O N Moser and Fiona C Clark. Zed Press, pages 13-29

Eritrea. *Women and the Eritrean Revolution*. Chapters 5 and 7.

Wilson, Amrit (1995). *The Women and War Reader*, Red Sea Press. Chapters 17, 18, 20, and 21.

Enloe, Cynthia. (1993) "The Gendered Gulf: A Diary" Chapter 6 In: *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. Berkeley University of California Press. pages 161-200.

Haque, Evan. (1997) Rape, Power, and Masculinity: The Construction of Gender and National Identities in the War in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Gender and Catastrophe*, Zed books, Edited by Ronit Lentin.

Slim, H. (1996) *Doing the Right Thing: Relief Agencies, Moral Dilemmas and Moral Responsibility in Political Emergencies and War*, Background Paper for the Scandinavian NGO Workshop on Humanitarian Ethics, Nordic African Institute, Upsala.

Macrae, J.(1996) *The Origins of Unease: Setting the Context of Current Ethical Debate*, Background Paper for the Forum on Ethics in Humanitarian Aid, Dublin, December 1996.

Longwe, S.H. (1995) "Opposition to Gender-Sensitive Development" *Gender and Development*, Vol. 3(1): 47-50.

Chewe, E. and Harrison, E. (1998) "The Gender Agenda" In: Crowe, E. and Harris, E.(1998) *Whose Development? An Ethnography of Aid*, Zed Books, pages 49-68.

Dowler, Lorraine. (1997) "The Mother of All Warriors, Women in West Belfast, Northern Ireland." *Gender and Catastrophe*, Zed books, Edited by Ronit Lentin